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ABSTRACT

Surveys, content analyses, and laboratory experiment/judgment task strategies continue to be the dominant research methods used in mass communication research. Some researchers, however, are advocating method triangulation--the use of at least two and as many as five methods within the same study. A manual and computer search of several databases for studies using multiple methods in mass communication research produced disappointing results. It would appear that even though many researchers have been urging the use of multiple methods, few researchers seem to be heeding the advice. Some may argue that multimethod studies are impractical since a study that uses several methods including qualitative strategies would be difficult to replicate. Nevertheless, if such studies do, indeed, increase confidence in the results or point to directions for further research, then they are worth the time, effort, and expense. As researchers look for ways to improve research designs and thereby build a meaningful and comprehensive body of literature, they should consider how combining methods can contribute to a better understanding of mass communication. (HOD)

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AVOIDING "METHODOLATRY" IN MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH: A CALL FOR MULTIMETHOD TRIANGULATION

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Essentially there are two paradigms for social science research. These paradigms may be referred to as quantitative and qualitative, positivist and phenomenological, empirical and critical, or by any of a number of other terms. No matter how one refers to them, there is a dichotomy between the two schools of thought. Although there are exceptions, it is rare for researchers to cross over from one paradigm to the other.

Some researchers, in fact, adhere to only a single method, designing research around the method or methods with which they feel most comfortable. As Rosenthal (1975) has noted, "it is typical of many fields to rely on a single method for most of their work" (p. 239). He cites as examples the field of academic psychology, which has been limited to experimental laboratory techniques; social science, which has relied heavily on survey methods; and marketing research which has been based on the interview. Bell and Newby (1977) suggest that researchers replace what they call methodological idolatry or "methodolatry" and "positivistic hegemony" with a "decent methodological pluralism" (p. 10).

Although not wedded to a single method to the exclusion of others, communication research in the United States has been firmly grounded in the positivist paradigm. As Carey (1983) has observed, "positivist assumptions continue to guide the practice, theory, and technology of communications" (p. 4). Foley (1978) underscored this fact observing that mass communication research had "become increasingly mathematical in its analysis" (p. 211). Evidence of the positivist emphasis can also be found by looking through recently published mass communication research methods textbooks and published research. For example, of three mass communication research textbooks published in the 1980s (Stempel & Westley, 1981; Tan, 1981; and Wimmer & Dominick, 1983), only a text by Stempel & Westley includes chapters

on qualitative studies. The other two focus exclusively on quantitative methods.

Lowry (1979) provided evidence of the positivist emphasis in communication research when he reviewed a sample of studies published in seven communication journals. He concluded that communications researchers tend to rely primarily on "sample surveys" and "laboratory experiment/judgment task" strategies. (His study, of course, predated publication of a journal devoted to critical studies in mass communication.) Despite his calling attention to the methodological exclusivity that prevailed, little changed in the five years following publication of his study in Journalism Quarterly, at least in that journal. An examination of each issue of that journal from 1980 to 1984, shows that the only substantial change was in the percentage of studies published that used content analysis. That percentage increased from 20 to about 42 percent. Studies that used surveys were represented in approximately the same proportion as in the Lowry study, and the percentage of field studies remained negligible. In other words, surveys, content analyses, and laboratory experiment/judgment task strategies continued to be the dominant methods employed.

Lowry also tabulated those articles which used more than one method within a study and found that only 7 percent used more than one research strategy. Only about 4 percent of the studies published in Journalism Quarterly during 1980-1984 used more than one research strategy. Studies that employed more than one strategy tended to combine content analysis with a survey.

If published research is an indication, suggestions that researchers combine quantitative and qualitative methods have gone unheeded by communication researchers. As researchers look for ways to improve research

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designs and thereby build a meaningful and comprehensive body of literature, it seems worth considering how combining methods can contribute to our understanding. Therefore, this paper is aimed at raising the issue for discussion. Primarily, this paper reviews the arguments favoring the use of qualitative and quantitative methods and the use of multiple methods within the same research design. Several studies that have employed more than one method are reviewed and suggestions are made for the ways in which additional methods might contribute to a research project.

TRANSCENDING THE QUANTITATIVE/QUALITATIVE ARGUMENT

Positivism stresses the application of scientific methods derived from the hard sciences. According to this view, science is the only true knowledge and facts given independently of the researcher are the only valid ways to acquire knowledge. Theoretical questions can be resolved only through empirical observation. A basic premise of the positivist perspective is "that social phenomena are, for all analytical purposes, qualitatively the same as natural phenomena" (Silverman, 1972, p. 16). It also assumes "that the techniques of analysis developed in the natural sciences are applicable to sociological investigation" (ibid.). This perspective is often traced to the French sociologist Emile Durkheim who said social facts should be treated as things and observed empirically. Although some sociologists (Alexander, 1982) maintain that "scientific thought is a two-directional continuum" between the metaphysical environment and the empirical environment, positivists reject non-empirical statements and exclude metaphysical or philosophical issues.

The contemporary phenomenological movement, led by Edmund Husserl, began in the early part of the 20th century in German universities. Its application to social science in the United States is largely attributed to

Austrian-born sociologist Alfred Schutz. Schutz greatly influenced Harold Garfinkel, (1967) creator of ethnomethodology. Sociological phenomenologists argue that the positivist view is mistaken in its belief that social phenomena possess the same characteristics as natural phenomena. Whereas positivists view the world as an objective reality, phenomenologists say that the social world is a subject world that cannot be "divorced from the human beings who constitute its membership" (Silverman, 1972, p. 18.) There is an "interdependency between the knowing subject and the objects of knowledge" (Johnson, 1975, p. 18).

Rogers (1982) divides the ideology that separates communication research into the "empirical school" and the "critical school," noting that communication scholars may use different terminology, but most agree that two viewpoints exist. Curiously, "most critical scholars identify themselves as such" but empiricists do not associate themselves with a particular school (p. 126). Rogers suggests that "this lack of identification with the empirical school is because many empirical scholars do not know of the existence of the critical school of communication research" (ibid.). He lists several "lessons" which ought to be considered by empirical scholars including:

> Empirical scholars often should utilize more qualitative research methods to supplement their main dependence upon using quantitative research methods. Choice of method must depend upon the research situation (such as the objectives of the research, whether the study is to identify a research problem, to specify hypotheses for future testing, or to test hypotheses), not upon habit or convention. A multi-method approach to communication research is usually stronger than the use of any single method (p. 139.)

Zelditch (1962) points to the problem that arises because of the division between quantitative and qualitative methods:

> To some extent the battle lines correlate with a relative concern for 'hardness' versus 'depth and reality' of data. Quantitative data are often thought of as 'hard,' and qualitative

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> as 'real and deep'; thus, if you prefer 'hard' data you are for quantification and if you prefer 'real, deep' data you are for qualitative participant observation. What to do if you prefer data that are real, deep, and hard is not immediately apparent (pp. 496-497).

Hirsch (1978) also believes that "the traditionally narrow definition of communication research, which equates it with social science, needs to be supplemented by a broader familiarity with contributions from the humanities" (p. 236.) Meyer, Traudt, and Anderson (1980) maintain that mass communication research "requires the use of both familiar survey and experimental methods as well as techniques that are more qualitative in nature" (p. 265). Whitney and Barkin (1978) point out that even though phenomenology and positivism "arise from radically different assumptions," phenomenology and science are not antithetical (p. 2).

Perhaps most notable among those urging the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods is Donald Campbell, who has been closely identified with the experimental approach. Campbell (1978) does not recommend that qualitative methods be substituted for quantitative ones. He says that both are needed and that "quantification both builds upon and is cross-validated by the scientist's pervasive qualitative knowledge" (p. 204). An early study by Vidich and Shapiro (1955) offers evidence that "the techniques of participant observation and the sample survey are not competitive, but, in the well conducted community study, will be complementary" (p. 33). Van Maanen (1979) observes that "qualitative methodology and quantitative methodology are not mutually exclusive" (p. 520) and Jick (1979) suggests that qualitative and quantitative methods "be viewed as complementary rather than as rival camps" (p. 602.)

Among Marxist scholars, who have traditionally rejected the positivist paradigm, there is "increasing recognition...that critical analysis alone is not

sufficient, that a host of methods -- including those reviled as 'American' -- must be brought into play if the major questions raised by Marxist theory are to be answered adequately" (Becker, 1984, p. 76).

Certainly, much can be gained by viewing scientific thought as the two-directional continuum suggested by Alexander (1982) and by combining methods to study a particular phenomenon as recommended by Denzin (1970). Different methods generate different kinds of information, and no research method is without bias (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest, 1966). Threats to validity exist in every method and different methods produce different kinds of demand characteristics and researcher effects that could introduce bias or error into a research project.

A laboratory experiment enables a researcher to isolate particular variables and test theories. But its fault is that the researcher is not observing phenomenon in a natural setting. If a researcher wants to study a phenomenon in a natural setting, the researcher can employ participant observation or the sample survey. The advantage of a survey, of course, is that it enables the researcher to collect data on a large group of people. Bias in a survey research design can arise because it is influenced by the researcher's own values and expectations and because of external obligations, conventions and pressures. In addition, as Webb et al. (1966) put it, reactivity "riddles the interview and the questionnaire" (p. 53). Participant observation gives in-depth information about a small group of individuals, but yields little data relative to the time and money expended. Other problems with this method include the reliability of observations and the demand characteristics associated with observation (Hazen, 1980).

Using a combination of methods, however, avoids "sharing the same weaknesses" while drawing on their strengths to provide a cross-validation of

research findings. Sieber (1973) has encouraged teaming fieldwork with survey methodologies because "each method can be greatly strengthened by appealing to the unique qualities of the other method" (p. 1340). He says fieldwork can help to formulate a survey questionnaire, and can assist in the analysis and interpretation of survey data. It can also provide the theoretical structure; validate the survey results; help to interpret statistical relationships; and provide external validation of statistical constructs. In addition, fieldwork can provide case studies that illustrate statistical and historical types and it can clarify puzzling replies to the questionnaire. A survey can enhance fieldwork "by identifying both representative and unrepresentative cases, the former serving the goal of generalizability and the latter the function of theory refinement" (p. 1352). Surveys can contribute to the understanding of field observations. It can do this by "correction of the holistic fallacy, demonstration of the generality of a single observation, verification of field interpretations, and the casting of new light on field observations" (p. 1354). Participant observation gives in-depth information about a very small group of individuals, but yields little data relative to the time and money expended. Other problems include the reliability of observations and the demand characteristics associated with observation (Hazen, 1980).

Denzin (1978) goes further than Sieber by advocating method triangulation, that is, the use of at least two and as many as five methods within the same study. In addition to method triangulation, which is discussed below, Denzin describes three additional types of triangulation: data triangulation, investigator triangulation, and theory triangulation. Data triangulation, that is, using several data sources for the study of a particular phenomenon, is distinguished from methods of generating data.

The researcher would systematically select dissimilar settings as sources of the data. In this way, researchers "can discover what their concepts (as designators of units in reality) have in common across settings" (p. 295). Investigator triangulation is the use of multiple observers rather than a single one. Theory triangulation pits "alternative theories against the same body of data" (p. 297).

The two types of methodological triangulation are within-method and between-method. In within-method triangulation, the researcher uses multiple strategies within a single method to explore a phenomenon. An example of this would be the use of multiple scales within a questionnaire to measure the same phenomenon. Campbell and Fiske (1959) advocate this in their multitrait-multimethod paradigm. Denzin, however, finds within-method triangulation to be much less satisfactory than between-method triangulation, which combines two or more methods within the same design.

Obviously, combining methods in the same study is not a new idea, although it is an idea that has not been widely applied in communication research. It has, however, been used in a variety of disciplines. The multitrait-multimethod approach proposed by Campbell and Fiske (1959) has been used in many studies (see, for example, Brinberg, Coleman, Hoff, Newman, and Risk, 1980; Teplin, 1977; Marsh, 1982; Small & Zelders, 1983), particularly in the fields of psychology, social psychology, and educational psychology. An argument in favor of multimethod research and evaluation of computer-assisted instruction was presented by Hazen (1980), but she does not discuss her application of the various methods. She merely outlines the advantages and disadvantages of five methods--final examination, attitude questionnaires, naturalistic observation, interviews, and archival data--and concludes that the use of any two or more of these methods would greatly

improve the validity of research conclusions.

A notable multimethod study in the sociology literature combined case study methods with survey techniques. Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam (1971) studied people who had been residents of Beech Creek in 1942 and who were still alive in 1961. Some of the people still lived in that mountain community in Appalachian Kentucky and some had migrated to Ohio. The first phase of their research involved a detailed review of contemporary literature on migration and trips to Beech Creek and Ohio to have discussions with key informants. The second phase was designed, through use of a survey, to collect data on both migrants and nonmigrants from Beech Creek. Intensive field interviewing and quasi-participant observation of selected individuals and families were then conducted. Finally, focused interviews were conducted to formulate hypotheses about the occupational adjustment of rural to urban migrants.

Multimethod studies have also been gaining favor in various types of evaluation research. In a paper on the methodological problems of analyzing and reporting qualitative data, Adams (1981) suggests using triangulation and multimethod approaches in evaluation studies. She believes the use of multiple observers is the least costly and most effective type of triangulation. "Since each member of an evaluation team typically touch[es] the elephant at a slightly different place and come away with unique reactions, the mental pictures formed by several people can be shared and comingled (p. 6). Using multiple methods was the second most useful approach in her view.

Several studies related to policy and evaluation research were reported in the American Behavioral Scientist, September/October 1982, an issue devoted to exploring the use of multimethods. An issue of Administrative

Science Quarterly (1979) also focused on the use of qualitative and quantitative methods, and triangulation. One study (Jick, 1982) in that issue used a combination of methods to study the effects of a merger on employees. Methods used included a sample survey, probing interviews with a subsample, unobtrusive measures, and nonparticipant observation. In this study, the "quantitative results were used largely to supplement the qualitative data, rather than the reverse which is far more common in organizational research" (p. 606). Although the study and its findings are not described in great detail, the researcher notes that the various methods produced largely consistent and convergent results.

Multimethod studies have also appeared in the criminal justice literature. Fowler (1978), for example, used a multimethod approach to evaluate an experiment in reducing residential burglary and street robbery and the fear of those crimes. The study used both quantitative and qualitative information and considered each variable in at least two different ways.

Greenberg, Ruback, and Westcott (1982) used four methods to investigate the decisions of property crime victims to notify police. The researchers explain their methods and findings in detail, thereby offering a good model for such a study. Their methods included an archival analysis of police records; interviews with crime victims; simulation studies using college students; and field experiments. Although archives tend to be nonreactive, the researchers found selective retention and bias to be a problem. "Police archives contain a rich store of information about the characteristics of the crime and the person who reported it," but the information reflected "the purposes, biases, and errors of those who contribute to and assemble such archives" (p. 51). The simulation was used because the researchers expected

crime victims to have problems in accurately reconstructing the event, thereby making it difficult to produce an accurate report. The researchers found, however, that the results of the simulation studies were inconsistent with the interview findings. Finally, the researchers examined victim decision making through six controlled field experiments in which participants thought they were victims of theft. The results of the experiments also contradicted the simulation studies. The researchers obtained both convergent and divergent results from the various methods and concluded that different methods are useful in dealing with different aspects of the phenomenon under study.

MULTIMETHODS AND MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

A manual and computer search of several databases for studies using multiple methods in mass communication research produced disappointing results. The computer search, which produced many studies using the multitrait-multimethod approach, yielded only one citation in a German sociology journal related to the use of multiple methods in communication research. The study by Noelle-Neumann (1979) in Germany combined content analysis and a controlled field experiment with a trend analysis to measure a variety of social and political attitudes toward East-West politics, unemployment, and the German national character. Four television news magazine shows were content analyzed as was a magazine noted for its right-wing, nationalistic bias. Surveys conducted throughout the 1960s and 1970s provided trend data. The researcher used this combination of methods, she says, because factors such as the agenda-setting function of the media are difficult to reproduce in a laboratory setting. She concluded that the media are not merely mirrors of public opinion but do influence social

change.

Through the manual search, a study using multiple methods in communication research was found in an annual review of communication research. This study (Rothschild, 1975) used multiple methods and multiple situations to study the effects of political advertising on voting behavior. Previous research in this area, Rothschild noted, had relied on surveys and the "examination of high-level election races" (p. 237). For his research, Rothschild collected data using a laboratory experiment, a field panel study, a series of field surveys, public and private archival records, and expert witness questionnaires. Although the research led to a few divergent results, Rothschild says the "use of multiple methods has led to convergent findings . . . and external validity" (p.259). It also led to a richer set of data.

A study by Bormann, Kroll, Watters and McFarland (1984) synthesized survey research methods, Q-sorts, and humanistic rhetorical criticism to investigate political communication. The researchers began with fantasy theme analysis of four rhetorical visions being projected by presidential campaign publicists. This provided a basis for the Q-sorts. After gathering data on small samples of voters using the Q-sorts, they conducted a large sample survey.

As noted earlier, a few studies published in Journalism Quarterly used two methods within a single study. Serra and Kallan (1983) content analyzed 10 editions of "PM Magazine" and surveyed "PM" producers and co-hosts in their study of sexual egalitarianism on television. Similarly, Williams, Shapiro, and Cutbirth (1983) content analyzed network newscasts and the daily newspaper to determine media agendas. They compared the media agenda with the results of an audience survey of agendas. An

agenda-setting study by Stone and McCombs (1981) also used an audience survey, but content analyzed Time and Newsweek to determine the media agenda. Houlberg and Dimmick (1980) combined face-to-face interviews with on-air television personnel and spent four days in each of three newsrooms as nonparticipant observers. The purpose of the study was to determine influences on television newscaster's on-camera image. It is not clear, however, what information the observation yielded.

In order to demonstrate how the use of additional methods might have been used to contribute to data collected in various types of studies, three studies were selected arbitrarily from the Spring 1984 issue of Journalism Quarterly.

In the first study selected, Haskins and Miller tested the effects of bad news and good news on a newspaper's image using university students in an experimental setting. The researchers themselves point out that the subject group does not represent the adult population or newspaper readers. They "assumed that the relative effects of the experimental treatment are projectable to the larger population" (p. 6). The results would have greater external validity, however, if the researchers had conducted, as they point out, a controlled field experiment. A controlled field experiment would benefit by a content analysis to determine the proportion of good news and bad news in the newspaper in the community being tested. A survey would help to determine how a sample of newspaper subscribers and nonsubscribers view good news and bad news and whether that view alters readership patterns. In addition, researchers could analyze newspaper sales figures to determine if changes in sales correlate with days in which bad news dominates the front page. For example, when a gunman killed people in a McDonald's restaurant in California, did newsstand sales increase significantly?

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A study by Ryan and Martinson (1984) examined the ethics of public relations persons. They surveyed members of the Public Relations Society of America asking them to respond to one of four hypothetical situations outlining an ethical dilemma in public relations. Two vignettes described the firing of athletic coaches and two described the problems of disposing of nuclear waste. Each of the vignettes involved either a private, profit-making concern or a public, nonprofit institution. The researchers found no significant differences in the way practitioners said they would respond to the dilemma posed, although they responded differently to the coach firing and the nuclear waste disposal. They concluded that "practitioners respond in different ways to different moral-ethical dilemmas....and that subjectivism is the prevailing moral-ethical theory" (p. 33).

One problem with the study described above is that it asks respondents to put themselves in a hypothetical situation. How one responds to a hypothetical situation and how one responds when faced with a real-life ethical dilemma may be quite different. It seems that the research could be enhanced by employing additional strategies. First of all, the researchers might have conducted focus group interviews to determine the ethical problems that practitioners perceive in public relations. A content analysis of news releases and newspaper stories related to a controversial issue similar to those posed could give some insight into how a problematic issue was handled by the practitioner and by the media. This could be coupled with in-depth interviews with the practitioner and also with media personnel who covered the story. If the researchers were to become participant observers in profit-making and nonprofit institutions, they also would gain some insight into the kinds of ethical choices practitioners are faced with on a day-to-day basis. This is not to suggest that any of these strategies would be easy to

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accomplish, but they would provide some information about what public relations practitioners do when confronted with ethical dilemmas rather than what they say they do.

A study by Peterson, Albaum, Kosmetsky, and Cunningham (1984) found that business editors were more favorably disposed toward capitalism than was the general public. The purpose of the research was to determine if an "anti-business" attitude exists in newspapers. First of all, the researchers might have content analyzed the business sections of newspapers as well as the rest of the newspaper to determine the extent of any anti-business sentiment expressed on the business pages and in other parts of the newspaper. It may be that anti-business stories are found elsewhere in the newspaper and not on the business pages. Business editors may be favorably disposed to capitalism, but other editors and reporters may not be. Therefore, Peterson and his colleagues might have surveyed other editors in addition to business editors. A participant observer study of the business desks of one or more newspapers might reveal what factors impinge on news decisions.

The comments that have been made regarding the use of additional strategies in these three studies is not meant to be exhaustive. They were cited merely to provide a cursory example of how multiple methods can be applied to mass communication research. The examples serve to point out that more ways could be used to explore various research questions than are being used. Even though many researchers have been urging the use of multiple methods, few researchers seem to be heeding the advice. Certainly, there is a dearth of such efforts in mass communication research. The multimethods approach, of course, cannot be applied in every case. When it can be applied, it will enhance the validity of the research and improve

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confidence in the results. Even if one finds divergent results, "a few divergent results are not entirely unpleasant since they point to directions for further research" (Rosenthal, 1975, p. 259).

CONCLUSION

This paper has focused primarily on the dichotomy that exists between the quantitative and qualitative schools of research, and has focused on how various research methods combined in a single study can be used to enhance research findings. Although several researchers have expressed this viewpoint, their views on this subject have not been brought together before. By bringing their comments together it is hoped that the argument carries more force. Some may argue that multimethod studies are impractical. After all, a study that employs several methods including qualitative strategies would be difficult to replicate. In addition, a great deal of time and money would be required to carry out a multimethod study. Certainly, a researcher working alone would likely find it a Herculean task to collect and analyze all the data in a multimethod study. Nevertheless, if such studies do, indeed, increase confidence in the results or point to directions for further research, then surely they are worth the time, effort, and expense.

As increasing attention is focused by researchers on new communication media, it becomes even more important to look for new and creative ways to design studies (Rice & Rogers, 1984). Thus far, research on new communication media such as videotex has relied primarily on surveys, although computers have been used to monitor data as well. Rice and Rogers also point out that quantitative and qualitative analyses ought to be combined when appropriate in research on new communication media. Of interest to

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this researcher, for example, is the study of electronic information such as videotex. Studying it from several vantage points could lead to some understanding of how electronic information fits into the larger picture of communication behavior and with what effect. The results of an experiment to test theories about information seeking and information processing, for instance, would guide the researcher in examining the phenomenon in the "real" world. A field observation would allow the researcher to take a closer, in-depth look at information seeking and information processing behavior of individual users of electronic information whereas a survey would allow some generalisations to be made to a larger population.

At all points in the research, however, the emphasis would be on testing theories of information seeking and information processing. That point is underscored because the purpose of this paper was not to suggest that one ought to use multiple methods or combine quantitative and qualitative techniques for their own sake nor was the purpose to provide a ready formula that could be plugged into one's own research. That is not possible because there are many ways of "knowing" and theory must determine the method or methods used. As Blalock (1982) has observed:

> "In the absence of really adequate measuring instruments...we must rely on multiple indicators obtained by using diverse data collection procedures. The notion of 'triangulation'...as a way of proceeding by indirect measurement to eliminate plausible rival explanations to individual empirical findings...is impossible without an explicit and rather precise theory.... (p. 263).

A quantitative technique that holds the promise of helping to build a sound theoretical base by synthesizing previous research is meta-analysis (Glass, McGaw, & Smith, 1981; Hunter, Schmidt, & Jackson, 1982). This technique involves the statistical analysis of the findings of many studies conducted by independent researchers. Studies involving meta-analysis have

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recently begun to emerge in the communication literature and can help to determine the viability of various theories. Following their meta-analysis of persuasive strategies, for example, Dillard, Hunter, and Burgoon (1984) concluded that self-perception theory and reciprocal concessions theory, which had been applied in separate areas of research, ought to be considered simultaneously. Their results pointed to flaws in the way these theories had previously been applied.

The importance of theory in determining research design cannot be overemphasized. Careful attention must be "paid to one's theoretical assumptions and conceptual apparatus," otherwise "no array of statistical techniques will suffice" (Blalock, 1982, p. 9). As every beginning researcher should have learned, one's hypotheses are only as good as the theory from which they were generated. But all too often the focus on methods and techniques overshadows the importance of conceptualization and theory, and we sometimes forget the lesson that was learned. As Becker (1984) observed in his review of Marxist approaches to media studies, "What is needed, from at least some of the scholars in each camp [Marxist and positivist], is greater understanding and openness to potentially useful concepts, theories, questions, and methods from the other" (p. 77).

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